

To Workers, Farmers, Youths of (or near) Military Age, Women and all Opponents of War (with a few side-remarks to Roosevelt and Congress):

The U.S. Government talks peace and works for war. It has stolen \$585,000,000 of Public Works money for the Army and Navy. It's our money; it was meant for life; it is being spent for death, death for us and ours, death for comrades under other flags, profits for swivel-chair patriots.

You wouldn't try to kid us, would you, Frankie, telling us that this money for warships and a mechanized army is for National Recovery? You, and the double-chinned military experts in Congress, and the steel and chemical millionaires, you know that war is likely, in the spring of 1934, in 1935 or 1936— at the very latest in 1936? Almost anywhere, anytime-a guns-and-gas war, a good stiff shot of high pressure national salesmanship to finish off the unsuccessful tariff wars, the trade wars the shipping wars, the cable-and-radio wars, the money wars-all the polite wars that the United States and every other nation except Soviet Russia has been in ever since the fake armistice of November 11th, 1918.

The U.S. Government has recruited 313,000 young men in CCC camps under the discipline of Army officers who are laying plans to use them as soldiers when time comes.

The U.S. Government has put war factories on overtime, meanwhile thousands of other factories and productive units that could turn out necessaries of life remain closed or, when open, turn out fewer goods to sell at higher prices.

You see, Frankie, the trouble is that the workers and farmers, like their comrades in other countries have paid the cost of all the polite wars since 1918 as they went along. They have paid it in cash, in health, in worry, in loss of their very lives. That's why you can't sell them more NRA goods at profiteering prices. The idea of robbing them of Public Works money doesn't strike them as very bright. Several millions of them-sixty million are getting less than enough to live on-are pretty well wise to the fact that they have been two-timed by the industrial bosses, bankers, flag-kissing politicians and their own childish faith in what these people said was good for them.

The U.S. Government goes on spending millions for the Reserve Officers Training Corps in the schools and colleges, for the Citizens' Military Training Corps and for military propaganda. Meantime, all over America schools are being closed for lack of funds, children are sickening and dying of cold and "malnutrition'-polite name for hunger-and hundreds of thousands of teachers are unpaid. Education for death must go on, say the master minds in Washington; never mind what happens to education for life.

Join with the American League Against War and Fascism in its immediate nationwide protest.

Organize and take part in demonstrations in your neighborhood, your town, your shop or factory, in schools and churches.

Crack down on your Congressman with written and spoken demands, with delegations and mass pressure; demand that he vote for an immediate halt to the stealing of Public Works money for war contracts.

Bring about lightning strikes, temporary stoppages of work on farms, railroads, docks,

The American Navy must be second to none, "to support American interests, especially the development of American foreign commerce and the merchant

marine."_ Secretary of the

Navy, Claude Swanson.



-and that a few million are sure it's a trick by the Polite Rich to surrender some of the little things so that the workers and farmers won't go after the big things, such as, for instance, workers' ownership of industry and government. Take a tip and pass it on to your yes-men in Congress, don't try to give them a War. That's too big a thing for you to handle. It wouldn't be healthy even if the United States "won".

People of America, your government is acting like a crazy man, as crazy as Insull and Kreuger or a thousand other capitalists who have taken a nosedive to destruction. Unless the criminal insanity is halted the United States will be thrown into imperialist war.

America will be transformed into a shricking, murderous madhouse, wired for sound by the government-controlled radio, sending its best and strongest young men to kill and be killed. For what? For profit. To save a profit system that cannot be saved.

You, the workers, farmers, women and young men, all you who would have to pay for, fight in and suffer for another war spasm of this dying system, you can halt this march to death if you act now.

warehouses, factories, and particularly on all war jobs, on January 29th, during the protest in Washington.

GROPPER,

Finally, send delegates to Washington January 29th, to tell Roosevelt and Congress your demands:

Public works; not war works.

Cash relief and unemployment insurance, not bull pens and chain gangs. (Cancel war contracts and use the money for this relief.)

Keep schools open, feed and clothe children, pay teachers; build more schools, not warships.

Organize, protest, strike, FIGHT for a workers' and farmers' peace in a workers' and farmers' world.

MELLON'S WARS

By HARVEY O'CONNOR

Author: "Mellon's Millions, Biography of a Fortune."

Every drop of blood shed in every American battle since the Civil War has been coined into gold by the Mellon family. It is no exaggeration to say that the Pittsburgh billionaire family reaped at least \$1000 each time a doughboy fell in France.

It is not merely that the Mellons, like all other capitalists, rub their hands gleefully in expectation of profits when clouds of gun smoke and gas spread over the trenches. The Mellon industries are specifically war industries. Chemicals? Explosives? Their coal, coke, gas and petroleum companies are poised for patriotic profit-grabbing the moment the capitalist governments give the word for war. Their iron and steel companies await the signal for armor plate orders, for gun carriages, for warships. Their aluminum company is the only one the government can turn to for lightweight equipment for soldiers, for structural materials for submarines and speedy cruisers.

Judge Thomas Mellon, founder of the fortune, was only a respectably prosperous real estate shark when the Civil War broke loose in 1861. When the war ended and he cashed in on his vouchers for army supplies, Mellon was on the road to millions.

He was a true patriot. He believed in supplying his country with the sinews of war—at a good profit. As for the fighting, let the workers' and farmers' boys do that. His son, James, wanted to volunteer in Wisconsin to guard Southern prisoners. Old Judge Mellon flew into a rage.

Let the Suckers Fight-We Cash In

"We owe nothing in the way of making up Wisconsin's quota," he wrote. "It makes me sad to see this piece of folly. I had hoped my boy was going to make a smart, intelligent business man and was not such a goose as to be seduced from his duty by the declamations of buncombed (war) speeches. "It is only greenhorns who enlist," he added.

"You can learn nothing useful in the army. Here there is no credit attached to going. All now stay if they can and go if they must. Those who are able to pay for substitutes do so, and no discredit attaches.

"In time you will come to understand that a man may be a patriot without risking his own life or sacrificing his health. There are plenty of other lives less valuable or others ready to serve for the love of serving."

Mellon's Millions

The Spanish-American War gave the Mellon's their second big push toward millions. That war brought prosperity such as Pittsburgh's steel masters had never before known. Carnegie's profits mounted from \$7,000,000 in 1897 to \$11,500,000 in 1898 and then soared to \$40,000,000 in 1900.

All the big Pittsburgh war industries now cleared through Union Trust and T. Mellon & Sons banks. On their boards sat the iron and steel mill owners, the railroad magnates, the coal barons of the Iron City. On the crest of enormous war profits came the urge to monopoly. In 1899 Mellon helped to form the coal monopolies of western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh Coal and Monongahela River Coal & Coke. On both the Mellon banks took underlying mortgages and generous slices of stock.

The trend toward monopoly resulted in Morgan's U. S. Steel Corp. Mellon and his partner, H. C. Frick—of Homestead infamy organized Union Steel and held up the Morgan outfit for a sum estimated at \$20,000,000. Mellon had his finger in a score af minor monopolies floated on war profits.

It was the World War which shot him to the top of the biggest money-pile in the Americas. World War—More Profits Koppers Gas and Coke was his main war

After the Spanish war, Andrew Mellon was

lord of Pittsburgh and a peer of Wall Street.

industry. Dr. Heinrich Koppers, a German engineer, designed the celebrated Koppers byproduct coke ovens, which distilled the coal gases formerly wasted in the bee-hive coke oven process. From these gases and liquids come all the essentials of poison gases and explosives. Mellon grabbed Koppers' company as soon as the World War broke out and in 1915 began signing fat contracts with the Allies. When the United States joined in the blood-bath, Mellon turned in Dr. Koppers as an "alien enemy," had his share in the company and his patents confiscated by the government, and then bought them in for a song.

During the war, units of Koppers by-product coke ovens couldn't be built fast enough. From a \$1,500,000 firm in 1915, it developed into the \$177,000,000 giant of today, flanked by the \$200,000,000 Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates.

During the war, the Mellons' Standard Steel Car Co. turned patriotically to gun carriages. "Oil is as necessary as blood in the battles of tomorrow," cried Clemenceau, war Premier of France, and the Mellons responded through their Gulf Oil Corp., which poured out a golden-black flood to keep the war fueled and lubricated. The Mellons' N. Y. Shipbuilding Co. laid down keels which later bore soldiers and munitions across the pond. The Aluminum Co. of America supplied the government with metal at 33 cents a pound. After the war, it dropped promptly to 22 cents.

And Today

Koppers and Gulf Oil laboratories are at work today on the gases and chemicals of the next war. Bethlehem Steel, in which the Mellons are the biggest stockholders, is turning out armorplate for the fast new cruisers being built as part of Roosevelt's "public works" program. Pittsburgh Steel and Crucible Steel, in which the Mellons are important, are ready to "do their share." Aluminum Co. is supplying, at monopoly prices, the lightweight metal which makes bigger and yet lighter warships possible. Mellon banks are ready, as in the last war, to peddle "victory loans" and to take their share of the war profits.

Mellon industries stand alert for the tocsins of the next imperialist War, eagerly awaiting the fabulous profits which mass murder has always tumbled into their laps.





Announcing Hitler's arrival at a recent concert in Berlin. The lettering under the death's head reads "Adolf Hitler's Standard."



STATE IN WALL STREET'S UNION

By J. B. MATTHEWS

Chairman, American League Against War and Fascism

vestigation tour in Cuba undertaken by the writer and Alfred Runge, Spanish-American War Veteran on behalf of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The only evidence that you have entered foreign territory when landing in Cuba from the United States is the customs inspection and the Spanish language. Passport formalities are not required for visiting Americans. Cuban dollars follow the American currency up and down the foreign exchanges with an absolute precision that suggests dependence. The National City and the Chase banks are right there before you, bringing to mind the partial exposures of the Senate Investigating Committee. The Capitol on the Prado is American, not Cuban. What its outward appearance reveals in the way of slavish imitation of the Washington building is not more important than the graft involved in the construction-graft made possible through the connivance of the Chase National Bank with Cuban politicians of the Machado era. Tammany grafters never made a better rake-off.

Fight American Imperialism

Your electric light at night is supplied by the Cuban Electric Company, an affiliate of the Electric Bond and Share Company, with an investment of \$200,000,000 in this Cuban corporation. Havana consumers are in rebellion against the payment of electric light bills altogether. No one dares to go around cutting off meters. There is a mass revolt against this phase of Yankee Imperialism. To appease the Cuban consumers, the Grau Government has just decreed a 40 percent reduction in light rates - bringing them down to ten cents a kilowatt hour! In New York City the rate is seven cents a kilowatt hour and the Edison Company pays dividends. But the Cuban Electric Company protests the Grau decree by crying "bankruptcy!" To add to the troubles of saw the electrical workers at their organiza-

This article is the result of a recent in- ers have just organized and presented forty-one demands. More hard luck for Yankee Imperialism. The telephone company employees were out on strike three days before and won a three-hour contest with another Yankeeowned public utility. The Electric Bond and Share is naturally scared.

American Tobacco Co. Hit

The tobacco workers, who are not locked out, have also gone on strike against the bosses. They are working toward an industrial union of all the tobacco workers of the island, instead of dividing their forces into a score of craft unions. What is better still, the dock and transportation workers have a joint committee with the tobacco workers. They refused to ship \$75,000 worth of cigars for the London Christmas trade until the American Cigar Company and other owners come to terms with the workers.

Ten Cent Store Girls Strike

More evidence of Yankee Imperialism! There is the second Woolworth store I have seen in Havana. Someone says there are two more. They are all boarded up. Looks like somebody smashed the plate glass windows. Yes, the girls are on strike, and have been out for three months. They are striking in all of the eight Woolworth stores of Cuba. A few days ago they made so much noise in the city of Camaguey that the authorities declared martial law-think of it, martial law to handle twenty-five ten-cent store girls. What do they want? Outright expropriation of the Woolworth Company? No, only the right to marry! And seven dollars a week pay! The girls figure that if Barbara Hutton can have her prince without forfeiting her Woolworth millions, they are entitled to matrimony without getting fired. A girl of thoroughly revolutionary tendencies is leading the strike. She is known everywhere as Senorita Ten-Cent. I the American electricity monopoly, the work- tion meeting give her a big hand.

The Farmers Revolt

Out of Havana, speeding on the great Central Highway-more graft made possible by the Chase National-toward Santiago de Cuba. There is the Hershey Company's sugar factory. But it isn't running. Neither are scores and scores of the other sugar factories. It is a general lockout by the American sugar barons of Wall Street. They call it the Chadbourne Plan-which means starving more than half the population of Cuba to make Wall Street's profits fatter. But the peasants are not taking it lying down. They have their own militant unions. In some places they have taken over the factories. The American representatives of Wall Street have departed, waiting for calmer days. There is bitterness in this sugar business. Everybody in Cuba is demanding zafra libre (unrestricted harvesting and grinding of the cane). The Chadbourne Plan is older than the New Deal, but it too has only the aim of raising the price level for the profit-taking boys. The Cuban peasants are dispossessed on their own soil. Ninety per cent of their land is owned by Americans or controlled by long-term leases held in Wall Street.

Wall Street Battleships

All around the island of Cuba are the Yankee battleships waiting faithfully to protect the lives and property of American citizens. The property will need some protecting when the Cuban workers and peasants get a little farther along in the organization to win their freedom from the bitter yoke of the Yankees. Imperialism is imperialism-and it has no Republican or Democratic peculiarities. The battleships are used for the same purposes by Republican Adams and Democrat Swanson. Only American workers and farmers can put out the fires of these imperialist battleships. Let them rally in solidarity to the support of their Cuban comrades. "Abajo el imperialismo yanqui! Viva Cuba libre!"

And if lives must be protected by the landing of marines, send for the Cuban marines to save the Scottsboro boys from their lynchers.

"Japanese military attaches in Washington are taking a lot of interest in the Citizens Conservation Camps and the fact that army officers are in charge of them. They also wonder why naval officers have been detailed to CCC duty. Apparently Japanese suspect the camps of being a disguised method of training reserves. "Why do you put so many young officers in charge of CCC units?" asked one assistant Japanese military attache. "I can't understand why you should detail general staff officers to this duty. Tell me," he persisted, "are they good for the trees?" - From the "Daily Washington Merry Go Round" by Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen.

STUDENTS BETRAYED

By ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Professor of English, University of Chicago.

1917

In an address by Mr. Frank Olmstead, chairman of the Committee for Student Enrollment of the War Resisters League, the vote of college students on the question of personal participation in war is summarized as follows: Of 22,000 who voted, 8,000 indicated their entire refusal to participate in war among nations; 7,000 limited their participation to defense of American soil; and about the same number stated that they would obey the call to the colors.

Since the time when these figures were collected other colleges have voted in approximately the same proportion. Without overestimating the importance of such an expression, it is obvious that this attitude of college students puts before a bellicose government a deterrent from war, and before a peacefully inclined administration a strong encouragement to peace. If there had been any such open declaration of principle before the last war, it may be surmised that President Wilson would have found a way to redeem his election pledge: "He kept us out of war."

When one contrasts the state of mind of the student today with that which prevailed in 1914 and 1917, the change is astonishing. In 1917 the college men were the readiest form of cannon fodder to be found. Presidents, deans, headmasters, especially in the Eastern institutions, played eloquently upon the patriotic emotion of their pupils and turned them over to the War Department. Unmindful of their srimary responsibility for the young lives entrusted to their charge, such happy noncombatants as Dean Brown of Yale and President Lowell of Harvard proceeded to act as recruiting officers for the government, and participated in the campaign of propaganda designed to confuse minds and make clear thought impossible. They committed the unpardonable sin of education by attacking the intellectual integrity of their pupils. Brown was dean of the Yale Divinity School. Lowell, with appropriate blasphemy, chose to sanctify his work by building a church to the memory of the boys in whose death he gloried-"the building that nobody wants."

After the war these leaders of academic thought throughout the country showed nothing of the energy, even violence, with which they had sent others into battle, in demanding the fulfilment of the pledge for the future for which their students had died. Almost without exception they acquiesced in the surrender of reason, honor and conscience negotiated by Wilson at Paris, and took refuge in his monstrous falsehood that the Treaty of Versailles embodies the Fourteen Points. At best they, contented themselves with a benign optimism based on the League of Nations. They gave to the youth of America an example wanting in no respect of jingoism, cowardice and cant.

Students Revolt

It is a natural consequence of this betrayal that college students have turned in distrust against college faculties and administrations, and have asserted a measure of freedom of thought in matters which concern themselves and the world in which they are going to live. Naturally, the first question raised is whether this world, governed by privilege, selfishness and chicane, is one for which they are willing to die. The answer is NO. The second question is whether it is one in which they wish to live. The answer will be NO. The struggle against War in the minds and hearts of students is only the first skirmish of the struggle for a new social order.



What will the year 1934 bring us? Look at these two charts.

Since the depression started in 1929, annual preparations for War have increased at a far faster rate than during the five years before the World War.

In the year 1913 the total annual war preparations of Germany, France, Japan, Italy, Great Britain and the U.S.A. was 27 per cent greater than in 1909. The above chart indicates the yearly rise in war preparations over 1909.

But the combined war preparations of these same imperialist powers for 1933 was 55 per cent greater than their yearly preparations in 1929. The chart below shows the yearly increase in war preparations over 1929. Not only are yearly war preparations greater now than before the World War (those of 1929 are roughly 50 per cent greater than those for 1909) but these preparations are increasing at a far faster rate.

Will the capitalist governments give the workers and farmers a war in the year 1934?



January

FIGHT

By FRANK ROBB

As a seaman who went through the last war and who has been in the marine industry for over sixteen years, I have been able to see something of the war preparations now going on in my field. I have, therefore, been far from impressed by President Roosevelt's statements about this government's desire for peace.

Building the Naval Auxiliary

Under the Jones-White Act of 1928, new passenger ships, if they are to get any of the fat government subsidies and mail contracts, must be built under the supervision of the Naval Board. They must pass certain naval specifications. How many people know what these specifications are like?

The new Export Line ships, for instance, have reinforced decks fore and aft for gun mounts, reinforcements between davits on boat decks for gun mounts, and special magazine hoists in ventilators ready at all times for rigging. The ventilators are square, so as to make hoists easier. The sides of these ships are so built that light armor may easily be attached to them. There are also special compartments in the holds which have no other use than as munitions magazines. Finally, the engine rooms are of such construction that one engineer (an ex-Navy man) on first seing them remarked at once that they were the engine rooms of a "battle-wagon".

The Subsidies Racket

Other lines which I personally know to have been building passenger ships according to these specifications are the Grace Line and the Ward Line. But there are many others, for the government subsidies are irresistible to the profit-makers. Some time ago it came out in an official investigation that one ship carrying 80 cents worth of mail received a mail subsidy of \$14,000 for the voyage from the government. This is supposed to be charged to the expense of the postal service, but put it down as part of the cost of preparations for War.

Then, too, the money for building all these new passenger ships on war-time models is also a government handout. Under the Jones-White Act, the government lends this money to the shipping lines at as low as one-quarter of one per cent interest and gives them twenty years to pay it back, besides guaranteeing huge profits with its mail subsidies. So anxious is the U. S. Government to prepare for War!

It is also extremely curious that the Leviathan, the George Washington and the America, which were supposed to have been broken up for scrap, are now lying practically intact at Solomon's Island. Can they be waiting to fill their former roles as troop carriers?

Freighters of Death

Freight ships are even more actively engaged in war preparations. The Isthmian Line



Building passenger ships for war purposes under the Jones-White Act. (Left) S.S. Virginia and (right) S.S. Washington, two of the vessels ready for Imperialist War.

of New York (controlled by U. S. Steel) not only has a large fleet of its own but has chartered ships of other lines to carry war materials to the Far East; scrap iron, steel rails, cotton (for gun cotton), bombing planes, nitrates and other cargoes the nature of which is kept secret. Also running to China and Japan are a number of tankers carrying hightest gas, naphtha and fuel oil in quantities big enough to mean only that they are being stored for a coming war.

As a member of the crew of one of these tankers, which discharged close to the naval base in Kobe, Japan, I saw some old ships (some of them bought in the U. S.) being dismantled and new war equipment being installed. I notice, too, that Japan has bought up the old rolling stock built for the Czar's railroads and left till now in Canada. This is important, for the Russian Soviet rails are four and half inches wider than standard gauge, and Japan can only be intending to use them on conquered Soviet roads.

Japanese ships leave American ports every day loaded with war materials. Munson Line ships ply regularly between the Hopewell, Va., nitrates plant and the Dupont powder plant on the West Coast, from which munitions go to the Far East

Compulsory Enlistment

The final proof of the government's real attitude to war is the section of the subsidy law which requires that 60% of the officers and engineers in subsidized ships be members of the Naval Reserve. With jobs now so scarce and with preference going to the Naval Reserve, these men have no choice but to join up. And now comes Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union, with the suggestion that *all* seamen take a short-term enlistment in the Naval Reserve, and that such seamen be given preference to jobs on merchant ships. Which is bound to make Furuseth as popular with the militarists as William Green.

What with all this personal experience of the government's real attitude, and a public works program that allots millions to the navy for new battleships, warplanes, submarines and naval bases, I, as a seaman, have a right to my suspicions of President Roosevelt's love of peace. Evidently, he is in favor of perpetuating world peace until the United States is ready to declare war.

Pan-American Conference

By LUCILE PERRY

Unlike the Sixth Pan-American Conference at Havana, where the U.S. delegation resorted to open bullying, the Montevideo Conference was quite a polite affair. The air was thick with "good neighborliness." The same old railroading policy was there, but applied this time with a velvet glove and with the unexpected assistance of the Argentine delegate. When the delegates from Cuba, Haiti, Mexico, Salvador dared raise their voices to protest the domination of the "Colossus of the North," they were hurriedly silenced and the act of mutual love and friendship went on.

The chief thorn in the side of the U.S. delegation was the presence in Cuban waters of 30 American warships, serving as a constant threat of armed occupation. On the eve of the Conference, President Roosevelt had suggested the possibility of "modification of the permanent treaty"—"after a stable government had been set up." This is reminiscent of the Platt Amendment bait used to lure delegates to the Sixth Conference although not a word was permitted to be uttered on it when the sessions opened.

Intervention in Cuba and Haiti

The Cuban situation offered great possibilities of fireworks at the Conference, but the velvet glove policy and the co-operation of Argentina saved the day. After attempts to dispose of it by "referring it to a committee" had failed, Mr. Hull agreed to the resolution on intervention with "reservations." The reservation is based on the March 4th declaration of President Roosevelt which affirms that no troops will be sent across the border "except under existing treaties." Thus intervention in Cuba under the Platt Amendment is still permissible. Nor is there any provision against landing troops for "the protection of foreign nationals," the reason advanced for the present mobilization of warships in Cuban waters.

In more subtle types of intervention, such as the current financial control in Haiti, Roosevelt made his position clear when he answered Haiti's demand for withdrawal with the statement that nothing could be done about it. As the Colombian delegate said, "There is no inconvenience in making declarations of this kind, because they do not obligate anyone and do not modify the policy of any nation."

Another noble gesture was the proposal of Mr. Hull for trade reciprocity and a general lowering of tariffs. Again the reservation, which is the kernel: "except in the operation of temporary, emergency, or other extraordinary measures comprising domestic program primarily for national economic recovery " In other words, this proposal will not be permitted to interfere with the present inflationary policy of the United States which is designed to increase exports at the expense of imports. The treaty concluded with Colombia is a good example of what the United States means by "reciprocity." Conceding nothing the United States agrees not to increase tariffs on Colombian goods, while Colombia agrees to reduce the tariff on certain American products.

America for U. S. A. Imperialists

The attempt of British imperialism to project itself into the Conference through League of Nations representation called forth the exhortations of Mr. Hull to preserve in its original purity the concept of Pan-Americanism —"America for the United States." Mr. Hull won.

Another defeat for Great Britain was the attitude of Argentina which in the past has expressed great friendliness to British imperialism and attacked American imperialism. Having concluded her bargain with Britain the Anglo-Argentine trade pact—she was prepared to dicker with the United States for additional advantages; and having a strategic position as the most influential South American nation, she co-operated with Hull in railroading all explosive controversies out of the Conference.

To estimate the extent of the gains of American imperialism from the Montevideo Conference, it will be necessary to know what went on behind the scenes—the agreements reached through Cordell Hull's "friendly" calls, the bargaining of the little shots with the big shot. The open sessions serve chiefly as a show for the people. The real business goes on behind the scenes. There can be no doubt that the position of American imperialism in Latin America has been strengthened.

Conference Deepens Struggle

Officially hailed as a step toward peace, the facts point in quite the opposite direction. Despite the truce called between Bolivia and Paraguay until the first of the year, there has

FIGHT

The Terror In Japan By HARU MATSUI

When I was a school girl, I was told that to be a good citizen, we must worship every morning in the direction of the palace of Mikado. The small children on the stiff school benches recited the "holy imperial message," which none of us could understand. In modern Japan, Mikado is not represented as a living person, but as a living God, or "Son of Heaven." The Japanese constitution in 1899 declared that the Emperor's power is to be "everlasting and of divine origin."

The biggest capitalists and landlords have their interests interwoven with this feudal system and wield their power over the toiling masses of Japan in the name of the Emperor. The police law makes all revolutionary activity on the part of workers a form of treasonable and blasphemous crime because it is aimed at overthrowing the "everlasting and divine Emperor." By this law, not only every worker active in the revolutionary movement, but anyone who expresses his sympathy with the revolutionary movement, is treated as a criminal.

Learning from Hitler

Since the imperialist invasion of Manchuria, the Fascist movement has been spreading like a plague. The Japanese government, which hitherto has been pretending to be liberal, is now frankly reactionary and is trying to suppress the Communist movement with all its might. The Japanese government sent representaives to Nazi Germany to study the methods of Hitler. These representatives upon their return openly praised the Hitler regime and its tactics of suppression.

The Japanese police system is one of the best organized in the world. In every city, in every town and village, the police visit every house once a week and take a census of each family. If they find a stranger staying with a family, the police investigate him thoroughly. Thus practically every worker in Japan is under constant surveillance. The secret police and spy system is equipped with the latest scientific apparatus and technique.

Economic conditions in Japan are becoming worse, especially since the invasion of Manchuria. There are over 4 million unemployed. The exchange value of the yen has dropped. Living costs are raised because of the inflation while wages are steadily declining. While the workers and peasants are starving, the large bankers live in luxury on the millions they made through gambling on the foreign exchange on the yen.

The Japanese workers live under the same miserable conditions as they did sixty years ago, when there was no capitalist industry.

been no agreement reached on the Chaco issue. While such a truce may have saved embarrassment at the Conference, the basic cause of the conflict has not been removed.



Nazi Minister Goering, who threatened the four Communists at the Reichstag trial. He said: "Wait till you get into my hands, out of the jurisdiction of this court. Then you will have reason to be afraid."

They have to work twelve to thirteen hours a day. Workers' children begin their life of toil at the age of five, working with their mothers making match boxes, simple toys and tooth picks.

Munition Plants Working Full Time

The textile industry, one of the most important industries in Japan, has had more than two-thirds of its mills closed. Ninety per cent of the wages in this industry have not been paid. Only the munition factories are going full blast, speeding the manufacture of war materials. But the workers in these factories have to work long extra hours without additional pay. With this feverish speed-up, there is a constant increase in the number of accidents.

Farmers have lost most of their land and are suffering severely under their heavy burden of taxation and high rent. Although the government warehouses are packed with rice, peasants have nothing to eat except barngrass. When the starving masses demand rice from the government warehouses, police arrest them and put them in prison, beating and torturing them.

In all the big cities of Japan, such as Tokyo, workers are constantly stopped on the street and searched for any evidence of revolutionary activity. All the revolutionary struggles are strictly underground.

(Continued on page fourteen)

CAMPUS FASCISM

What are American college students and teachers going to do about Fascism? This very important question was sharply posed by the affair at Columbia. An invitation, with honors, to the Nazi ambassador to use Columbia University as a national platform was met by a protest campaign culminating in a vigorous demonstration which challenged the Fascists both inside and outside the hall provided by the University.

Ambassador Luther received one more public repudiation to report back to Hitler. The University community learned something in the process, and the authorities of the University were forced to retreat at least to the extent of abandoning the proposed reception for Luther and moving the "lecture" to a hall more obscure and less official than the one originally planned.

The effectiveness of the protest was largely due to the efforts of such organizations as the National Student League, the Columbia Committee Against War and other sympathetic groups. The undergraduate students of Columbia College were in the main indifferent or even hostile to the anti-Nazi campaign. This is something for us to study.

Fertile Soil

The student body of Columbia College, like that of most American colleges, is made up chiefly of middle-class boys aspiring to professional and small-business careers. What they want is simple-a home, a family, a good job, security. Few aspire to be business Napoleons. But they are beginning to see that the prospects of achieving even these modest hopes is bleak in the extreme. Hence they are the potential prey of Fascists who seek to dupe them by false promises into the perpetuation by violence of a crumbling capitalist regime-all in the name of a "new" order which will offer them God-knows-what. Here in the United States, the repetition of the Italian and German tragedies is already being prepared. It is our job to stop it.

According to my observations there is a widespread, increasingly typical notion forming in the minds of Columbia College undergraduates, something like this: "The N.R.A. is failing. There go our prospects. The next thing is Socialism or Communism or Fascism. Fascism offers more to fellows like us." This notion is not yet fully crystallized. But it is rapidly becoming so. I find it on exam papers, essays, and in conversations. Many of my colleagues tell me they find the same.

But this is not all. These ideas find expression in local affairs. First we may recall the egg-throwers and strong-arm boys who, in a blind defense of constituted authority, attacked the supporters of Reed Harris, expelled student editor, and of Donald Henderson, dismissed radical instructor. In the latter case, we were treated to an open display of anti-

By Dr. ADDISON T. CUTLER

Semitism and pro-Hitler sentiments aimed against some of Henderson's supporters. This year we hear new rumblings. It is proposed publicly that "all red-blooded Americans on the campus rise against the menace of the Social Problems Club." Bits of talk about the possibility of forming a "Young Hitler League" reach our ears. One of my own students presents me, anonymously, with a caricature of myself strung up in a lynching party (all in the spirit of good clean fun, I trust). These are all straws in the wind. I think they mean something. Perhaps the uniforms are not so far off.

Our Task

Now this is not submitted in the spirit of defeatism. It is rather to emphasize our problem. We must show these students clearly what Fascism is. They can, I think, be made to see that, if they do the dirty work for big capital, it will result in nothing for themselves but perversion and betrayal, and nothing but incalculable harm for all the progressive forces in society. They must be made to see that Fascism is not a new order, but rather the ultimate in horror of the old order. I wish they would all be compelled to read Strachey's Menace of Fascism. Obviously we cannot rely on college curricula. We are compelled to resort to wider spheres of thought and action. reaching far beyond the confines of a classroom, which is all to rarely penetrated by the burning issue of the outside world. But our

mass demonstrations can hardly be successful enough in carrying their striking messages unless we accompany them with a patient campaign in the realm of ideas. I refer to the need for more pamphlets, leaflets, lectures, symposia, debates on the meaning of Fascism —Italian, German, and American brands. And on the alternative to Fascism, let us make the college undergraduates see that there is a place for them in an alliance with workers, who in struggling against War and Fascism are really taking the road to a new society—one where the man with technical ability is offered both security and creative work.

University Liberals

How about the faculty members? A fair sample at Columbia showed the trend of opinion to be as follows: "We oppose the Nazis' burning of books, imprisonment of professors. etc. We welcome on the campus the exiled German professors. But we are not opposed to the invitation and reception to the Nazi ambassador." Among those who sprang to the defense of the Nazi Luther in the name of "free speech" were many who last year failed to see any violation of academic freedom in the dismissal of Henderson, who was guilty of carrying into practice those forward-looking ideas which Columbia had been liberal enough to allow him to teach. This is clearly liberalism gone reactionary. But among the

(Continued on page ten)



The "invitation . . . to the Nazi Ambassador to use Columbia University as a national platform was met by a protest campaign culminating in a vigorous demonstration which challenged the Fascists both inside and outside the hall provided by the University." (Above) The students demonstrating.

THE WAR ON SO

(FIGHT requested Lord Marley, Vice President of the House of Lords, who attended the underground Anti-War Congress in Shanghai as chairman of a European delegation, to tell of his findings in the Far East.—Editor.)

On Sept. 30, 1933, there was held in Shanghai a conference against war attended by some 70 delegates representing the whole of China, including Manchuria and Korea. It had originally been intended to hold a far larger conference of all peoples surrounding the Pacific, but this was rendered impossible by the hostile attitude of many of the governments and in particular by the regime of terror applied to supporters of the Anti-War movement by the reactionary Nanking Government of China.

A European delegation, of which I was independent chairman, consisting of French, English and Belgian representatives, reached Shanghai on August 18. American and German representatives had also been appointed, but were prevented from joining by illness, in one case caused by Nazi action. On arrival, it was found that already over 100 persons had been arrested in China for supporting preparations for the Conference. Numerous additional arrests took place among those who welcomed the delegation, and it quickly became clear that there would have been serious risk to the 2,000 delegates who were expected to attend. Let me pay a tribute to the amazing courage, physical and moral, of the Chinese people; they were prepared, men and women, to risk imprisonment, torture and death for the cause they believed in, and when account is taken of the marvelous physical bravery of the 19th Route Army during the Japanese attack on Shanghai, it is right to say that the Chinese people are probably the most courageous in the world.

The Terror Begins

Many other difficulties arose in connection with the larger Conference. Permission for delegates from other countries was refused, and in some cases distance and expense proved an insuperable obstacle. The Chinese, French and international authorities of Shanghai clogged the activities of the European delegation with large numbers of detectives and police, and refused to give permission for the Conference to be held. Owners of all large halls, acting on official hints, refused to allow the use of the buildings. When the many arrests are taken into consideration, the reasons for the smaller Conference will be abundantly clear.

Conference Goes Underground

The Conference had to be held secretly for the protection of the delegates attending, and the whole agenda of the meeting was carried through with complete success, and without any interference by the authorities. During the two months in Shanghai it was the task of



Japanese machine gunners murdering Chinese Workers and Peasants in Japan's imperialist invasion of North China.

the delegation to inquire into the causes of war danger in the Far East, to get into touch with Chinese organizations of workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals (as well as other nationals, Ministers and government officials and administrators, and the European community), and to prepare a comprehensive picture of the actual position in China.

An immense amount of work was carried out during the two months of the inquiry. Public and private meetings, lectures, dinners and debates were arranged. Large open-air meetings were held often only by subterfuge because af the armed opposition of the international police. Many factories and workshops were visited, as well as many villages and farms and the country districts within motoring distance of Shanghai. An attempted visit to Japan, to interview Ministers and help Japanese delegates to attend the Conference, was prevented by the Japanese Government, after a series of hysterical and undignified outbursts by representatives of the Home Department and the police authorities, who feared a large increase in the already widespread opposition to War existing throughout Japan.

NEGRO SOLDIER-

The writer of this article has contributed to various publications, including "Annuals American Academy Political and Social Science," "Scribner's Magazine," "American Mercury," "Nation," etc., etc.

Crispus Attucks, a Negro slave, was the first American rebel to die (1770) for American independence. Attucks had escaped from his owner, a Mr. William Brown, of Framingham, Mass., some 18 years earlier and had gone to Boston. There he roamed the crooked and narrow streets with what the Tory John Adams called, "A motley rabble of saucy boys, negroes and mulattoes, Irish Teagues, and outlandish Jack tars." In defending the British soldiers for having fired upon the rebels (incidentally, thereby, defending British imperialism), John Adams said: "Led by Crispus Attucks the mulatto slave, and shouting, 'The way to get rid of these soldiers is to attack the main guard: strike at the root; this is the nest," these militant youths rushed to King (now State) Street, where they were fired upon by the Redcoats. Attucks, the Negro, was the first to fall. Thus a Negro slave, leading an attack aganist foreign invaders, was the first to give up his life in order that the young America might have the right of self-determination.

"Friend in Need"

As a result of the conditions leading to the American Revolution, and (quoting Carter G. Woodson, Negro historian), "Needing the support of the Negro in maintaining the independence of this country . . . several of the States, influenced by men who actually believed in equality for all regardless of race or color, contrived to emancipate those Negroes who were then held as slaves." However, as soon as the war was over, and the newly formed United States faced the tasks of readjustment, the so-called "race problem" was created. The question arose what to do with all these blacks whose valor in the revolution

VIET CHINA By LORD MARLEY

Despite all these various obstacles, the closest contacts were established with individuals and organizations of all kinds, including University and other students, economists, the film and theatrical industries, illegal trade unions (the legal unions are run by gangsters in the interests of employers), and representatives of the various Chinese provinces. In addition to these, the Conference was attended by delegates from Korea, Manchuria, the Soviet Government of China, the Red Army of China, and the 19th Route Army.

The general conclusions reached by the delegation and by the Conference, based on the immense volume of information previously collected, were clear and unanimous. The Nanking (Kuo Min Tang) Government of China has no foundation on the mass of the people, is generally disliked and often hated, and is based on a regime of cruelty and terror probably unsurpassed in any other country. Its authority is confined to the areas dominated by its own armies, and to the environs of the Concessions and other territory controlled by the Great Powers. It is itself torn by dissension, and there was general expectation of an early Fascist coup by General Chiang Kai-Shek, who employs numbers of German Nazi officers for training his troops. Such a coup is brought nearer by the resignation (forced by the Japanese) of T. V. Soong, despite the private army which he maintained and paid from Ministry of Finance funds.

Imperialist Powers Attack

The Nanking Government is under the dom-

ination of the Japanese, who provide it with arms and money (both directly and by methods such as the purchase of the American cotton loan), and directs its policy particularly with regard to the attacks on the Sovietized districts of China. The Great Powers are also forcing these attacks, by following the Lytton recommendations that arms and loans will only be granted to Nanking provided the internal reconstruction of China is undertaken. This means a continuance of civil war, rather than concentration on the task of resisting external aggression. Even from the point of view of the interests of the imperialist Powers, such a policy must be disastrous, for it destroys the capacity of the Chinese millions to buy the products of Western industry, the sale of which is the main object of the occupation of China.

War on Soviet Union

The evidence of those in touch with Japan, and from Man Chuo Kuo, was conclusive that Japan is preparing an early attack on the Soviet Union, and particularly is building large aerodromes close to the Soviet frontier and organizing White Russian bands in Manchuria. It would be clearly difficult for such an attack to make progress if there were organized opposition from the heart of China, and this explains the reason for the continued attacks on the Sovietized districts by the Japanese-controlled Nanking Government.

It is essential that these basic facts should be understood by the workers of Europe and America if they are to adopt a Far Eastern

policy leading to a real solution. It is a definite fact, now admitted by many Western writers and by newspapers such as The (London) Times, that the only government in China which has mass support and is governing with justice and without corruption is the Chinese Soviet Government. The population under Soviet rule is about 90 million and is probably increasing. The "People's Revolutionary Government" recently established in Fukien may not be able openly to enter relationship with the Soviet districts, because of the antagonism of the Powers which can send warships to bombard the sea and river ports. But it is clear that great changes are taking place in this district as well as in Canton.

Organize-Protest

From the welter of intrigue, corruption and personal greed, the only type of government likely to emerge with increased strength is one based on justice and having mass support of peasants and workers. Only by the encouragement of a national spirit by the Chinese workers and peasants can Chinese territorial integrity be assured. Therefore, it is the task of workers in other countries to protest against Japanese imperialist wars in Manchuria, to protest against the encouragement by the Powers of further attacks on the Chinese Soviet Government, to demand its recognition as a government, and to show their understanding of the struggle of the Chinese people, supporting a democratic and constructive organized government, ruling over a quarter of the Chinese people.

PAWN OF THE RULING CLASS

By EUGENE GORDON

had won them their freedom. Sundry proposals were put forward for solving the "problem": deportation "to some distant portion of the Western Hemisphere or to Africa" was most frequently suggested. It was finally resolved, by the various state legislatures, that either no more slaves be given their freedom by individual owners or that the liberated slaves be banished. Thus there began the practice in this country of making use of Negro manpower during crucial periods, and attempting viciously to curtail that manpower when the emergency no longer existed. Thus there began the prevailing practice of forcing the Negro masses back into "their place," once the ruling class had exhausted their usefulness in its behalf.

Peace-and Re-enslavement

There was a period before the American Revolution when free Negroes in some communities were denied the right to bear arms, lest they "put ideas" of insurrection into the



From an old print. The killing of Crispus Attucks, a Negro slave, at `Boston, Mass., who was the first American Rebel to die for American Independence.

January



The largest Gun Factory in the world at Washington, D. C., is so overtaxed with new orders now that a portion of the work has been assigned to private concerns. (Left) Turning out shells for the Navy. (Right) Making Cartridge Cases for the Navy's Big Guns.

heads of slaves. There was hardly such a thing in those days as Negro militiamen; or else, "as in Virginia for example, in 1755 and 1757," says Woodson, "the free mulattoes, Negroes, and Indians belonging to the militia were required to appear without arms." Woodson adds significantly that "These measures, however, were decidedly modified and some of them repealed altogether during the period of the liberal attitude of the patriots of the American Revolution."

Woodson implies here that it was only the liberalism (?) of the ruling class which impelled it to recruit the Negroes for battle; he admits later, however, that although "At first there was a disinclination to enlist Negroes as soldiers in some of the colonies," the Council of War deciding "not to accept them," yet, "When they got into a strait during the awful ordeal of the struggle . . . the colonies changed their attitude." So for some time following the revolutionary war freed Negroes possessed, to a large degree, all the privileges of free whites. But peace came; the Negroes' part in making a United States possible was "forgotten"; laws were passed which endeavored "to stop the growth of the free Negro class to protect the personal rights of the whites, and to prevent servile insurrection."

Jackson's Proclamation

One of the first accounts of the government's fostering segregation of Negro troops from white troops occurs in the proclamation made by Major-General Andrew Jackson, commanding the Seventh Military District, at Mobile, on September 21, 1814 (War of 1812). After saluting them as "The Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana," and announcing that "As sons of freedom, you are now called upon

(Continued from page seven)

Columbia faculty there is also a type of liberalism which suffers mainly from timidity and a mistaken view of "tactics." Can we make these people, who should be with us, see that "laughing off Hitler" and "laughing off Luther" is suicidal for liberals, pacifists, Socialists, and Communists—in fact suicidal for science, culture, and civilization itself? The lessons of Germany have not yet been driven home, when we hear at Columbia that "if we give the Fascists enough rope, they will hang themselves." On the contrary, they will hang us. Tolerence for all, including the destroyers,

to defend our most inestimable blessing"; after assuring them that their country "does not wish you to engage in her cause without amply remunerating you for services rendered," this promised remuneration being "the same bounty, in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States; viz., one hundred and twenty dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land"; after all these salutes, announcements, and assurances, the General asserted more bluntly: "On enrolling yourselves in companies, the Major-General commanding will select officers for your government from your white fellowcitizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves. Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen."

It had not been necessary at Bunker Hill, and in other revolutionary engagements, to segregate the white and black soldiers into separate bodies lest there be "improper comparisons and unjust sarcasm." Bancroft, in his History of the United States, remarks that at Bunker Hill "the free Negroes of the colony had their representatives, the right of free Negroes to bear arms in the public defense" being "as little disputed . . . as their other rights." Moreover-and this is the important point-"They took their place, not in a separate corps, but in the ranks with the white man; and their names may be read on the pension-rolls of the country, side by side with the other soldiers of the Revolution."

Perpetuating a Myth

The practice established by Andrew Jackson at a time when the Negro in the South was becoming a valuable commodity in the slave market, owing to cotton culture, has been religiously adhered to by the United States Government, and by all the several States, since that time. The practice was established solely to perpetuate the myth of "racial difference" between the Negro worker and the white worker, so as the better to exploit both; it has continued for the same reason, acquiring with time innumerable legal sanctions. The result has been a distinct psychology in both Negroes and whites: they feel, by and large, that although they may fight for the preservation of the same "glorious" country, they cannot, under any circumstances, fight together. All the traditions of the United States Army and of the Government itself are against it, they feel; not knowing that Negroes and whites served side by side in both Army and Navy during the Revolution.

Thus, the Negro, who was first to die for American independence, who has been used in every war since the Revolution and as frequently forced back into his "place", this Negro has reached the stage where he must ask himself a question. It is this: "Isn't it about time we got together, this white fellow and I, and compared notes, as a necessary condition to putting an end to the need for armed forces, to insist that Negroes and whites serve together once more in the same companies, battalions, regiments and divisions? Isn't it time I stopped being a pawn in the war game of the ruling class?"

Note: In future issues of FIGHT, Eugene Gordon will write on the plight of the Negro soldier in the World War and his present status in the armed forces of the U.S.A.

is the negation of tolerance, freedom, and peace. Some professors see it and we can make others see it.

Fight Fascism

And so, to combat embryonic Fascism in America, we have a lot to do to win over the potential Storm Troopers as well as to buck up the flagging liberals. I might mention here the case of a Columbia professor who told me that he was so much opposed to the Fascists that he was ready to be shot fighting them, but that he was unwilling to risk his job now in protesting the welcoming of the Nazis to the campus! But later he was willing to die. That imperialist War and Fascism are two sides of the same metal, was recognized by the permanent Columbia Committee Against War when it joined the anti-Luther protest. But this recognition is, of course, far from general. For instance the magazine "Fight Against War and Fascism," while it is popular in many quarters of the Columbia campus, meets resistance in some quarters on the plea: "Why, I am against war but not against Fascism. Fascism is a political question, and I'm not ready to take sides." Clearly there remains a huge task before us. We have only begun.

Schools--Not Battleships

Hamtramck, in Michigan, once boasted of the most progressive school supervision in the country. Today, the walls of four classrooms have been broken through in order to make it possible for one teacher to conduct a class of 100 pupils. In Detroit, the children in several schools have been warned against jumping or running in groups. The floors won't hold. The school buildings were condemned five or six years ago, and should long have been abandoned.

New Jersey is not Michigan, but while 1,265 teachers were fired last year in that state, almost 13,000 children were added to the rolls of the day schools. For every teacher fired, more than ten new children were added for the remaining teachers to take care of. In addition, the 50,000 children which the discharged teachers had taught were crowded into the remaining classes.

Such conditions wipe out any pretense of teaching. Children are merely massed together into a room to be kept quiet somehow by the teacher. But "science" in the service of our masters has taken notice of these changed conditions and given them its mildly qualified approval. Governor Lehman of New York recently heard from his commission on costs for education that "scientific studies show that increasing the size of classes does not necessarily decrease efficiency."

Thirty-two new battleships were ordered by the U. S. Department of War; at the same time the U. S. Commissioner of Education reported that a total of 2,280,000 children had been denied schooling of any kind in the United States. Schools have remained closed for lack of funds. Lack of funds have shortened the school terms from one to two months in nearly every large city, as compared to 80 years ago in the same localities!

Millions have been spent in this period of depression for war preparations at the same time that millions have been cut from school budgets. Even in the period of "prosperity," 1,500,000 children between the ages of 7 and 14 were not in school. And then, 25% of the money spent for education was cut between 1930 and 1933. The launching of a cruiser last month cost \$9,000,000. Six months before that the students of Chicago were deprived of junior high schools, manual training, and of Crane Junior College as part of the economy campaign.

Sick, Starving Children

The children are paying for the War Department's plans. One-fifth of pre-school and school children were found to be suffering from starvation, bad housing, and lack of medical care in the spring of 1933, according to the Children's Bureau. One out of every four children in the State of Pennsylvania was suffering from malnutrition (slow starvation). New York has a similar figure to report.

But the story is not complete. Forced from schools, starved in poverty-stricken homes, unable to bear the insecurity that hangs day by

By JOHN GARVEY

day over the family, impotent to get jobs in the face of 15,000,000 unemployed, children have taken to the road to starve away from home. In 1932, the Children's Bureau reported that 300,000 boys between the ages of 12 and 20 "are on the road, cut loose from their surroundings . . . And the total is constantly increasing." Today, they are being herded into forced labor camps.

"In none (of the chief countries of Europe)," said Professor I. L. Kandel of Columbia University, "can there be found a parallel to our ruthless treatment of children, schools, and teachers; in none of them is there an instance of the wholesale dismissal of teachers, the non-payment of salaries; in none of them have schools been closed for a single day to save money." It must be added that no country has as large a war budget as ours.

Teachers Jobless, Ragged

It has been estimated that over 200,000 teachers are at present unemployed in the United States. Employed teachers are waiting to collect millions of dollars in pay arrears throughout the country. When Chicago's teachers poured out into Chicago's Loop to demand some of the \$25,000,000 owing to them, police rode them down and clubbed them. Many are sick, hungry, and ragged. "Nearly a year ago, a well-known charitable institution assisted 500 of the neediest teachers—and the situation is infinitely worse now," said Superintendent Bogan of Chicago.

And Chicago is not representative of the country. For what is true of the urban East is mild by comparison with the condition of children and teachers in the rural South and West, where whole states have practically abandoned education or have cut it in half, especially in Jim Crow schools for Negro children. In these states the great majority of teachers are paid less than \$700 a year, many less than \$450, if and when they are paid at all. Many have gone to work in the mills of the South in preference to starving as teachers.

Schools, Not Guns

An entire generation of starved, maladjusted, ignorant children is being raised in this country. Parents and teachers who wish to save the children from this fate must sharply call a halt to the menacing war drives of the ruling class, which has abandoned education for the profits of war. The millions that our government is allotting to War must be diverted to education. Every demand, every struggle for "Schools, Not Battleships" is a blow against the war makers.



While the Government is taking millions of dollars out of the Public Works Funds for war purposes, hundreds of thousands of working class children are left hungry. (Above) A demonstration in New York City.





After Imperialist War. Charles M. Schwab (left) who made millions out of the World War, playing golf at Havana. (Right) And the Ex-Serviceman?

WAR FACTS By FRANCIS A. HENSON

Secretary, American League Against War and Fascism

The war makers are at work day in and day out. When nearly a billion dollars has been allotted by the U.S. government for war preparation, how can we question the coming of war. The declaration of War is now only a matter of time. Growing numbers of American workers and farmers are determined to do something about the system that supports war makers and sends workers to their death. The American League Against War and Fascism is now initiating a nation-wide mass campaign against appropriations for war purposes by Congress. And the fight of the American League means action—not mere words.

In order to understand fully the scope of this campaign, we must realize the manner in which war preparations are going on under the banner of national recovery. It is an illusion —and a very dangerous one—that building submarines and long range guns and all of the other strictly military weapons is the only way a country prepares for War. The "peace time" activities of governments are as important as the regular increase in the size of the military budgets.

War in the Air

Secretary Swanson of the Navy emphasized in his June 29, 1933, build-a-second-to-nonenavy speech "civil industries and activities useful in war." Air mail subsidies to private lines are being used to stimulate the development of aviation to function as part of the war machine. The War Department does everything possible to encourage this indispensable and strategic industry. As F. Trubee Davison, son of a recently deceased Morgan partner and recent Secretary of War for Aviation expressed it, "We in the War Department are taking great interest in the airplane industry . . . We must have in this country an aviation industry that can produce the best in the world." Fortune, journal of the million-

aires, observed April 27, 1933, "No doubt there are good and sufficient reasons for the government subsidizing the aviation industry through air mail. For one thing, it benefits the users of air mail as well as the carrier. For another thing-far more important-it builds up national defense " (our emphasis). Standard Statistics reports that military orders account for at least 75 per cent of the aircraft business of the United States. This is startling but it is more significant to realize with Raymond Leslie Buell, Director of the Foreign Policy Association, that "the air strength of the powers in wartime will not be determined so much by limitation agreements as by the capacity of output following the outbreak of war which no treaty can attempt to control." The issue then is one of the tempo of industrial mobilization.

17,000 Factories on War Basis

Aircraft industry is obviously only one of the United States industries being carefully prepared now to turn out finished products on a war basis. According to reports of the War Policies Commission, at least 17,000 factories have been placed on allocation basis and given what are called "educational orders" to fit them for instant operation on war requirements. The country has been divided into what is known as "procurement areas" for the purpose of securing immediate delivery of supplies on the outbreak of hostilities. "Industrial mobilization" is being practiced in almost every industry of the country, for there is scarcely a branch that is not counted as a potential war industry. The recent announcement of plans for a centralization and combination of all communications-with the potential amalgamation of Western Union and Postal Telegraph-is quite clearly the kind of organization of the instruments of propaganda

and the control of opinion that must be in the hands of a strong central capitalist agency in case of war. When these peacetime preparations of the whole economic system are linked to the logic of capitalism in its imperialist stage, the question as to when war will be declared becomes a matter of comparatively little time.

Stealing Public Works Funds

This mobilization of industry goes hand in hand under Roosevelt with the use of huge sums from the Public Works funds for building directly the instruments of destruction. The last figures available show approximately \$600,000,000 already spent for the army and navy from the \$3,300,000,000 set aside in 1933 for Public Works. But the War Department alone asked for a total of \$620,000,000. Apparently it hopes to get this amount out of the present or future public works appropriations. On November 27, General Douglas Mac-Arthur, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, states that some of the major items "recommended for immediate procurement" in connection with the Public Works program were:

"Army housing, including Hawaii and Panama, \$135,000,000, (only \$54,696,888 of this amount is included in our figure as having been allotted);

Mechanization, \$23,000,000;

Motorization, \$39,000,000 (\$10,000,00 allotted so far);

Anti-aircraft equipment, \$33,000,000;

Modernization of field artillery, \$35,000,-000:

Aircraft, \$39,000,000 (15,000,000 allotted to date)."

In other words, General MacArthur outlines a program calling for approximately \$225,000-000 more than has thus far been allotted for the purposes indicated in his report. The year 1933 will have seen nearly one billion dollars used to prepare for the next slaughter while millions have not known where the next meal was to be found and more millions of children have been forced to go without proper schooling. This billion does not include the \$300,-000,000 allotted to the Civilian Conservation Corps which army officers supervise and consider one of "the most valuable experiences the army has had since the World War".

Demonstrate Against War

Between now and January 29, every city committee, every peace organization, every trade union, every church and synagogue, every and all workers' and farmers' organizations, every genuine war opponent must fight against the insane path to which the workers, the farmers, the mothers and children, the professionals of this country are being led. Fight for information about industrial mobilization. Fight for more facts on the use of the billions being spent supposedly for public works. But, more important, fight what these facts signify - the next imperialist war to which you and I will be forced to go. We can and will build such an enormous coast to coast demonstration on January 29, in every city and town and finally centering in Washington, that the world will hear and the war makers will fear.

HAITI and U.S.A. OCCUPATION

By GUY ENDORE

Author of "The Sword of God," "Casanova," etc., etc.

In Haiti, and for that matter in many another tropical country, the quarrel against American imperialism carried on by the nationalists is simply an argument between two sets of exploiters. Shall it be the American conquerors or shall it be the old Haitian governing class who shall be entitled to pilfer land and people of Haiti?

And here the readily observable fact that American exploitation is so much subtler than the old brutal and frank Haitian system, the fact that it comes sugar-coated with liberalism and social service, is likely to confuse the superficial observer into acclaiming the American occupation (euphemism for conquest). And how is one to know from mere observation of the country that behind that imposing front of social service are concealed forced loans and supervision of tax collections to assure American bankers of their interest and principal. In short, the old grinding of the faces of the workers.

200 Million Slaves

On the other hand, the fact that Haiti is the "wailing wall of the Negroes," that it is or at least was the last refuge in the world's bitter traffic where the intellectual Negro could find a spot where his racial pride would not be too ruthlessly stamped upon, that too is likely to

sold so widely, have spread abroad the opinion that previous to the American occupation there was no color prejudice in Haiti. Is there not in America an equally erroneous notion that the French have no color prejudice?

These ideas are not only erroneous, they are vicious, for they obscure the real origin of color or race prejudice, which inevitably arises where there is an economic motive for such prejudice, that is to say that when two races exist within the same boundaries of a capitalist state, then almost inevitably one nation will be exploited for the benefit of the other. For national prejudice is only a different form of the class system by which the ruling class is assured of always having someone to remove its garbage or do its unskilled factory work, someone whom the ruling class will despise and keep in his "place." It sees to it that there shall always remain a supply of miserable and despised persons to do the despised (that is to say, hardest) types of labor for starvation wages. Race prejudice too, is fostered by capitalism, for example in the United States, to disrupt the strength of the proletariat by preventing the oppressed white workers from acting in concert with the Negroes.

The Negro Bourgeoisie

Seabrook brings up Ernest Chauvet, editor



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confuse the liberal observer into thinking that nationalism is the hope of Haiti.

Now the fact that 200 million Negroes have, practically speaking, not a single spot in the world that they may call their own is not to be cured by the old forms of nationalism. It must not be forgotten that a Negro bourgeoisie can and in some places has, successfully replaced a white bourgeoisie, with no improvement in the lot of the majority.

Keeping the Negro in his Place

Certain American writers, I am thinking particularly of Seabrook, whose Magic Island

of the opposition paper in Haiti, as his informant regarding the rise of color prejudice since the American occupation. And here again this statement of many Haitians is likely to confuse a visitor to the island. Moreover, Ernest Chauvet is right in so far as he himself is concerned, for he is almost white, yet to the Americans who are very strict in their color prejudice and carry it far beyond the biblical three generations, Chauvet is just a "nigger," while the pure blacks are nothing but "monkeys".

world.

Yes, as long as the Americans had not come to the Island, Chauvet was of the mulatto aristocracy, and race prejudice did not touch him, it only touched the despised country blacks. The elite of Haiti carry on their campaign of spreading a clever mixture of truth and lies only to get into the old game of grafting on the workers without foreign competition, a game that supported the Haitian mulatto aristocracy for over a century.

May I ask this cutaneous aristocracy how the following saying became current in Haiti seventy-five years before the American occupation if epidermal prejudice was unknown then: A poor mulatto is a nigger, a rich nigger is a mulatto?

That saying really strips the bright paint of patriotic idealism off the Haitian upper classes and reveals what is beneath. In Haiti too, class ruthlessly exploited class and color prejudice was a natural part of this exploitation. That is why in this supposedly black democracy, at the presidential garden party, I could not count half a dozen real blacks among the hundreds of white and mulatto guests who came driving up in their limousines with their Negro chauffeurs.

Such are the fruits of Haitian nationalism acquired so painfully at the price of the lives of a hundred thousand Negroes! And what are the fruits of American imperialism? They can be seen in the form of homeless people picking up food in the streets, for along with social service, we brought down to Haiti-Wall Street exploitation.

Working Class Struggle

For that reason our demand of Hands off Haiti! should not be misunderstood as condemning the people of Haiti to remain forever under the yoke of the mulatto aristocracy and that of the gros negre kulaks. It should rather be looked upon as an invitation to the people not to let themselves be perpetually misled by demagogues, but to carry through their cacos spirit to the realization of full social justice.

"There may be a big row on in Alabama because no Negroes are to be found on juries, but here in South Carolina when a Negro is drawn as a juror he does everything possible to get out of it. Negroes do not like to be mixed up in the 'co't doin's' of white folks. . . . South Carolina 'pure white' jury formula remains unsullied." - Dispatch from Special Correspondent, N. Y. Times.

Rehearsal at Chaco

By JOSEPH GREGG

Imperialist Arbitration

For the past eighteen months, the United States and Great Britain, leading advocates of world peace, have been staging a private little war in the Chaco region between the colonial tools of their imperialist exploitation: Bolivia and Paraguay. This war is a battle for supremacy in the oil industry of South America. The imperialists have long ago learned that "oil wins wars."

The press here informs us that the Chaco war is a native boundary dispute, that Bolivia and Paraguay have found flaws in their respective maps. It would be ridiculous to assume that two nations with the population of the city of Chicago, one seven times larger in territory than the other, could wage bitter war for so long a time entirely on their own resources. The territory involved, the Gran Chaco region, is 6,000 square miles of the most swampy and disease-infested section in Latin America and is used chiefly for watering cattle. However, the Paraguay River runs through this desolate battleground, where over 100,000 men have been wounded or killed. This river is now part of Paraguay and is of vital importance to the Royal Dutch Shell Co. and Vickers, Ltd., as a means of transportation of British oil and of various mining products, mainly tin destined for munition plants.

After the World War the United States became a great power in South American affairs and threatened the diminishing hold of its chief rival, Great Britain. The collapse of world trade in 1922 forced these two imperialist powers to adopt even more ruthless methods of rivalry against each other.

Dollars and Oil

Bolivia, hemmed in on all sides without a gateway to the sea, has fought her neighbors for years to gain a shipping port. The United States investment in Bolivian oil, tin, cocoa, quebracho, etc., rose to almost 300 million dollars by 1932. A new direct shipping route became necessary if American capital in Bolivia was to compete successfully with British capital in Paraguay. Millions of dollars in transport costs would be saved by acquisition of the Chaco territory. In 1922, active steps were undertaken to grab this region, according to the method usually employed by imperialists the world over. Dillon & Read, Wall Street bankers, lent Bolivia \$23,000,000, which was spent mainly on war materials, the Remington Arms Co. receiving a substantial portion of it. In 1930, the Standard Oil Company, already assured of success, built an underground pipe line to transport oil to an advantageous point in the now disputed territory. Later, the same company actually gave 20,000 uniforms, without so much as removing the U. S. Army buttons, to the Bolivian army. On July 15, 1932, Bolivia attacked a Paraguayan fort and began the long war.

The war dragged on, and the two imperialist rivals made eloquent and hypocritical gestures of peace. The United States set up a Commission of Neutrals, with representatives from Mexico, Cuba, Colombia and Uruguay, to stop the war. The ABCP (Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru) was organized by British interests to arbitrate the dispute. Neither achieved anything. Bolivia then appealed for mediation to the League of Nations (under English dominance), who in turn refused under the pretext of not wishing to violate the Monroe Doctrine. Whereupon, Washington graciously permitted the League to proceed in the interests of peace. The League of Nations, caught in a test case of the actual settlement of a war between nations, reluctantly set up another Commission, who now sit in impotent meditation.

(At this writing, Paraguay has all but routed the Bolivian forces. A verbal truce until December 30, arranged at the Pan-American Conference, has been ignored by Paraguay while pushing its recent military advantage.) In the meantime, Secretary of State Hull



General Hans Kundt, renowned during the World War as a military leader in the German Army, is seen here as Commander-in-Chief of the Bolivian forces in the Chaco War.

has refused to discuss the Chaco affair on the floor of the Pan-American Conference at Montevideo, but will do so in the "corridors." Yet in a statement given out at Rio de Janeiro before his arrival at the conference, Mr. Hull said: "Peace must be our passion."

While the spokesmen of the makers of war in Chaco mouth declarations of peace, the people in Bolivia are subjected to the distresses of war added to an already burdensome existence under a system of peonage. Only 9 per cent of the current budget has gone for education, while 85 per cent of the population is illiterate.

Bolivia has for years known extreme poverty, but now the imperialists from the North are sqeezing the last penny of profit out of Bolivian labor. As an instance of the methods used: mining companies are known to advance cheap liquor to the enslaved miners and then force them to work off the debt with a seven-day week and a twelve-hour day. However, there are evidences of mutiny in the army; hunger strikes, organized Anti-War action and other labor activities are occurring though they have been violently suppressed by the puppet governments set up by foreign imperialists.

This feeling spreading among the masses, that they should refuse to be cannot-fodder. is the only hope for a settlement of the question over which the imperialists are in a deadlock. The United States and Great Britain are engaging in a rehearsal at Chaco for what may be the next great war, for the power that wins control of South America will possess important means for a war to obtain world power. Therefore, we must take part in this rehearsal and learn our Anti-War role. Our immediate task is to prevent the making and shipping of war materials that will be used to kill our fellow-Americans in Latin America. We must organize mass activities in and out of the factories on a broad scale and demand of the Washington government a stoppage of these imperialist activities in South America.

(Continued from page six)

7000 Workers Now in Jail

Since 1928 over 29,000 workers and intellectuals have been arrested, and many of them have been murdered and driven insane by police torture. At present, over 7,000 workers are in jail, facing torture and execution.

Kobayashi, the well-known proletarian novelist, was arrested and given the third degree by the police. The police said that Kobayashi died of a heart attack, but when his friends found his body they discovered burns from a hot iron on his forehead and the mark of a rope around his neck. His arms had been twisted out of their sockets.

And the Struggle Spreads

The Anti-War struggle has spread among the broad masses. It has spread not only to the essential factories but into the munition plants, into army barracks, among the soldiers at the front in Manchuria. While General Araki boasts of the "loyalty and bravery of the Japanese army" the foundations of the army is crumbling and being infected with "dangerous thought."



By IDA DAILES Assistant Secretary

The mass campaign against War appropriations and the use of Public Works Funds for War purposes afford an excellent opportunity for building local organizations of the League.

Plan a large demonstration on January 29th in your locality. If possible have the demonstration outdoors. If not, hold a large indoor meeting. Go to trade unions, workers' clubs, fraternal orders, unemployed groups, student bodies, ex-servicemen's organizations, peace societies, churches, foreign speaking groups, etc., etc., interest them in this campaign and recruit them for this mass action. Instruct your speakers to point out the vast War appropriations and the extent of the present budgets of the Army and Navy.

Even if these organizations do not as yet join the American League or adopt its full program, utilize this campaign to win their support for the January 29th nation-wide demonstration.

On Monday, January 29th, a huge delegation will be in Washington to present resolutions against War appropriations. Copies of the resolution together with complete instructions have been sent to every City Committee. City conferences should be organized around this action and the resolutions brought up in all local organization meetings for adoption.

The American League calls upon every active anti-War fighter, every sympathizer, everyone who is opposed to War—to help now.

Keep the National Office informed of your preparations for the campaign and the results achieved. You will receive all possible assistance, advice, and suggestions from the National Office on request.

J. B. Matthews Tour

A coast to coast tour is being arranged for J. B. Matthews, National Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism. In addition to speaking at mass meetings, Mr. Matthews will devote some time in each city to local committees and individuals who can be drawn into the work. There are a few open dates still available and the National Office will be glad to receive additional requests.

Notes from the Field

A Provisional Committee has been set up in Yonkers, N. Y., and is meeting regularly. This Committee is a broad one and expects to do effective work. A city conference is planned for January 19th to prepare for a large mass meeting on the 29th as part of the campaign against War appropriations.

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A conference is being arranged in Wilmington, Delaware, stronghold of the Dupont munition interests, to organize a local section of the American League. Donald Henderson and J. B. Matthews will be there to represent the National Office. Delegates are expected from Wilmington and all parts of Delaware.

A conference in New Brunswick, N. J., is being arranged for the first part of January. So far New Brunswick has sold 100 copies of FIGHT each month.

Newark is holding a conference at the Dana College on January 11th. Representatives from pacifist, liberal, labor, Communist and Socialist groups are expected.

Los Angeles Conference

A very successful conference was held in Los Angeles on December 10th. Rev. Alonzo W. Reynolds, of the Methodist Episcopalian church, who was a delegate to the U. S. Congress Against War, gave the opening report. A permanent Executive Committee was elected including students, workers, representatives of Negro organizations, unemployed, church groups, Socialists, Communists and pacifists. The public sessions of the conference were attended by about 1200 people.

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Committees are beginning to work in New Orleans, La., Erie, Pa., Elizabeth, N. J., Springfield, Mass., Stamford, Conn., Seattle, Wash., and in numerous other cities throughout the country.

Enlisted Supporters

In order to establish large groups of individuals to help build the work of the League, we urge all City Committees to push forward the enlistment of supporters and the holding of regular meetings of these groups. Apply for Enlisted Supporter blanks which are available at the National Office. These supporters receive an emblem of the League and can be called upon to do much of the work in the various cities.

We urge the readers of FIGHT to become enlisted members of the American League Against War and Fascism.

I, the undersigned, pledge my wholehearted support to the fight against War and Fascism. I wish to register as an Enlisted Supporter with the American League Against War and Fascism.

Name Address.....

Occupation Organization (if any) (Minimum registration fee for all "Enlisted Supporters" is 25 cents. An emblem pin will be mailed to you immediately upon receipt of this pledge.)

I feel it my duty and privilege to increase my registration fee to the sum of \$.....

YOUTH SPARKS

What is being done by our Youth United Front in the interests of further broadening the anti-War and anti-Fascist front?

When we were born, the Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League made it clear that they couldn't unite with us since that constituted breaking the discipline of the Socialist Party. A lot of observers expected us to use up our energy getting mad like the "big bad wolf."

To the contrary, again on December 20th our National Youth Committee sent a special letter to the Executive Committee of the Y. P. S. L. asking them to give a committee representing us an opportunity to come before their Executive Session during December with specific proposals pertaining to unity against War and Fascism.

The Y. P. S. L. answer of December 26th read: "...will be glad to hear the proposals and views of your representative committee at its session..." etc.

What proposals will our Youth Section make? 1) That we again invite the National Committee of the Y. P. S. L. to join with this united front on the basis of the minimum program worked out at the Youth Session of the U. S. Congress Against War. 2) We propose that the Executive Committee of the Y. P. S. L. pass a resolution in favor of joining this united front on the basis of the minimum program and forward it to the Executive of the Socialist Party. 3) We propose that the N. E. C. of the Y. P. S. L. shall take part in the January 29th national action initiated by the American League Against War and Fascism and urge its locals to do likewise.

The January 29th action relates to the large delegation initiated by the American League which will go to Washington to present demands for Public Works and against the War Appropriations.

Philadelphia Conference

The Philadelphia Youth Section of the American League informs us that they will have a youth conference against War and Fascism on January 7th. A lot of people are pregnant with ideas about the date war will be declared. The general consensus of opinion here is spring. Some mighty big wars have started in the winter time. Do your part, Philadelphia, against War and Fascism.

In Washington

As we go to press the National Student Committee of the Youth Section is ready to lead the big demonstration of students in Washington on December 28th, armed with petitions against the R. O. T. C., right up to the steps of the national Capitol. Students and professors will demand that the R. O. T. C. be scrapped. —CHARLES WHITE

MUNITIONS STRUGGLE ТНЕ

Does Fight serve a real purpose?

- Do you want a powerful organization against War and Fascism in the United States?
- Will you help the American League Against War and Fascism to become such an organization?

We want five hundred individuals to free the staff of the American League Against War and Fascism from daily problems of meeting rent, wages, telephone and postage bills. Activities for some time to come will barely pay for themselves, leaving nothing for overhead.

Here Is Our Monthly Budget:

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Send your first dollar and your pledge to-

American League Against War and Fascism 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

WAKE UP, E

We have had encouraging orders for FIGHT from many sections of the U.S.A.

Los Angeles orders 1000 copies; Denver-500; New York City is selling about 2500, etc., etc.

Where is Philadelphia?

FIGHT is the easiest magazine of all to sell. People like it!

Steel Workers Like FIGHT Steel Workers Like TIGH1 The steel workers like the paper FIGHT very much and we found, to our surprise, that the paper was already known to many steel workers . . . we get many comments on the pictures especially. Some of the workers cut out the pictures and paste them up in their halls and in a few cases inside the steel mills. These pictures are powerful propaganda. —John Meldon, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Veteran Editor and Writer Is Pleased Congratulations on your recent issue. There is so much slovenly journalism in the radical movement that it is a relief and pleasure to see someone take a real pride and intelligent interest in careful writing, balanced selection and attractive makeup. —Ellis O. Jones

Los Angeles Orders 1000 FIGHT It's a mighty good magazine . . . send us 1000 copies of the January number. —Exrs Chase, Los Angeles Committee

And it's only 5 cents a copy. 50 cents a year. It's up to you, Readers of FIGHT!

Do you wish to carry on the struggle against War and Fascism? WE ARE NOW AIMING FOR A 100,000 CIRCULATION. Will you help us get it?

Will YOU subscribe? Will you subscribe for a friend of yours? Will you help us get subscriptions?

We Shall Try

You have done a wonderful piece of work. I like es-pecially the clearness in showing the workers' position in past and coming wars. I also think that the staff should put every effort into securing information on the present war praparation and forever keep that in front of the readers of FIGHT. —Leo Wene, Austinburg, Ohio.

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Denver Welcomes Us

I am sending a money order to cover invoice No. 55 and wish you would send 200 more of the December issue im-mediately. You can also place my order for 500 for the January number . . . the magazine is receiving an extremely good welcome here and we expect to have a circulation of 1000 very soon. —J. H. Fowler, Denver, Colo. .

From Great Britain

From a Virginia Editor

The two issues of FIGHT strike me as the type of stuff that should be distributed widely. The liberals, professionals, teachers, and liquidated white-collar workers should read it, as well as worker in field, mine and shop. Congratulations on the work. —Bruce Crawford, Editor, Crawford's Weekly Norton, Va.

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